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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 ROME 002167

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/11/2017

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SUBJECT: A/S DESUTTER'S MEETINGS WITH ITALIAN POLITICAL
DIRECTOR TERZI AND OTHERS, ROME, SEPTEMBER 12-15

REF: A. ROME 2061

[1](#)B. VATICAN 138

Classified By: Acting Political Minister-Counselor Jonathan Cohen for R
easons 1.4 (B) and (D)

[1](#)1. (SBU) Summary: Assistant Secretary for Verification, Compliance, and Implementation Paula A. DeSutter (in Rome for meetings from September 10-12 with Russian MFA Director Antonov on a post-START arrangement, see Ref A) met September 12-15 with Italian officials including MFA Political Director Giulio Terzi and President of the Italian Center for Higher Defense Studies (CASD) Lt. Gen. C. A. Valotto. Separately, she met with Vatican Undersecretary of State Pietro Parolin (Ref B). Topics included the results of the post-START negotiations just concluded in Rome and the status of negotiations on a broad array of non-proliferation and arms control agreements under consideration. A/S DeSutter also spoke on background with Italian senior defense commentators, held a roundtable with Italian academics and non-governmental (NGO) representatives, met with Embassy Rome first and second tour officers, and participated as an observer in an EU-organized meeting on WMD strategy (the "Solana Initiative"). End Summary.

[1](#)2. (C) At a luncheon hosted by Italian MFA Director General for Political Affairs Giulio Terzi on September 12, A/S DeSutter discussed the post-START talks, CFE, North Korea, CTBT, FMCT, and Libya. Also present at the lunch were MFA Deputy Director General for Political Affairs Filippo Formica (formerly Director of the MFA Non-Proliferation Office), MFA Political-Military Office Director Gianni Bardini, and MFA OSCE Office Director Brunella Borzi. DeSutter was accompanied by NSC Director for Security Cooperation and International Security Agreements David Dowley, VCI Senior Advisor for Compliance Diplomacy Julie Gianelloni Connor and Poloff.

[1](#)3. (C) Terzi thanked A/S DeSutter for her offer to brief the Italian MFA on the broad outlines of the post-START talks that she and her Russian counterpart were holding in Rome. He said that he was scheduled to meet with Ambassador Antonov the following day and appreciated the opportunity to hear from both sides of the talks. Russia's new assertiveness in its relations with Europe and the U.S. is a major concern for

Italian foreign policy-makers, who tend to regard Putin's behavior as an attempt to create a strategic "gray area" in the European security landscape that he can then exploit for political purposes.

14. (C) A/S DeSutter said that the post-START discussions were proceeding in an atmosphere of cordiality and professionalism and that the current focus of both sides was to improve the confidence building and transparency measures that are crucial to the strategic offensive arms reduction regime. With the START Treaty expiring at the end of 2009, both sides are particularly keen to put in place a durable post-START arrangement, but differed over the type of instrument -- Moscow Treaty or new START treaty -- best suited to institute that arrangement. A/S DeSutter said that discussions were colored by the Russian need to determine what sort of nation Russia wants to be, including its degree of integration with western countries. Terzi agreed that it was imperative to determine Russian objectives in a number of areas, including energy policy. A/S DeSutter remarked that the Russians are emphasizing the need for stability and predictability in arms control.

15. (C) With regard to the debate over the U.S. proposal to place interceptors and radar installations in Poland and the Czech Republic, DeSutter stressed that ten unarmed interceptors did not pose any realistic threat to Russia and that current discussions regarding the plan were ongoing under the lead of ISN A/S Rood. When Terzi asked about the current status of discussions over the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), DeSutter stressed that Russia has not called into question the basic precepts of the Treaty, only particular issues bearing on the verification

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regime.

Adapted CFE

16. (C) When Terzi raised European concerns over the state of U.S.-Russian discussions on the Adapted CFE Treaty, DeSutter noted that the U.S. position continues to be one of demonstrating solidarity with countries that are still subjected to the unwanted presence of Russian troops on their soil. Noting that A/S Fried and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Kislyak had just met on CFE issues the previous day, DeSutter said that the U.S. and Russia maintained an active dialogue on key CFE issues (Moldova, Gudauta, the Flank Regime) but stressed that the Europeans had a role to play in holding the Russians to the Istanbul commitments and keeping them from lapsing into a new Cold War mentality. She noted that certain EU members, particularly Germany and on certain issues France, had a tendency to want to achieve a deal with the Russians at any cost, including terms that would undermine NATO. She encouraged Italy to continue to play a moderating role. We do much better in these negotiations when Russia is faced with a unified U.S. and Europe, she said.

17. (C) Terzi noted that Italy was currently engaged in a balancing act, wanting to be supportive of countries "under pressure," such as the UK and Poland, while at the same time affirming the common EU position. By December 12 the EU will have a common platform, and Italy will support that position. Terzi commented that Russia needs to understand that the EU will stand together. He welcomed the package presented in July in Washington, calling it "timely and well conceived." Terzi said that Italy is "pressing" Russia to start the ratification process and commented that Italy can be in the group of countries that will ratify the Adapted Treaty quickly. He identified two issues - the question of the flanks and the definition of "substantial forces" - as difficult outstanding areas, saying that it is important for Russia to recognize that is in its interest for the "other

side" to have ceilings. Formica said that he was planning to attend the upcoming CFE seminar in Germany. He promised to take our concerns over German initiatives into consideration.

North Korea

18. (C) Responding to Terzi's questions about the reported positive outcome of the Six-Party talks on the North Korean nuclear program, DeSutter noted that the agreement on Yongbyon was a positive step, but that Yongbyon was just one piece of the North Korean nuclear puzzle, whose full outlines were still to be determined. Many other aspects of the North Korean program, such as uranium processing, had yet to be addressed at the necessary level of detail. She noted that the IAEA approached the question from a narrow "safeguards" approach, examining materials rather than the broader outlines of the program itself.

CTBT, FMCT, PAROS

19. (C) Terzi reiterated the EU's support for a speedy entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and asked whether the U.S. would recommence testing. DeSutter said that the U.S. had no plans to conduct a test and summarized the concerns the U.S. has over the verifiability of the treaty and the effectiveness of computer modeling and other detection mechanisms. A CTBT that only banned detectable tests would not be a significant achievement. Formica said that Italy welcomed the latest U.S. proposals with regard to the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty, but was concerned about obstacles posed by the Chinese and Pakistani positions. DeSutter agreed, noting that China is the only nuclear power

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without a Fissile Material production ban and that China is still expanding its nuclear arsenal. When asked about the Russian proposal to ban weapons in outer space (PAROS), DeSutter said that the U.S. relied heavily on space-based satellites for many different functions and has its own national security interests to protect. While the U.S. has no plans to develop space-based weapons systems, the proposed treaty was not verifiable and would not accomplish its stated purpose. DeSutter noted that the treaty as proposed would not protect satellites against ground-based attacks, as demonstrated by the recent Chinese destruction of its own satellite. The U.S. would not enter into discussions that would impose limitations on the U.S. ability to defend its satellite network.

Libyan Chemical Weapons (CW) Program

110. (C) DeSutter explained her bureau's involvement in the dismantling of the Libyan WMD program and detailed the program under which the U.S. had offered to finance the destruction of the Libyan CW stockpile and the conversion of its CW program to peaceful uses. She noted that the U.S. had "stuck out its neck" in order to secure more time for Tripoli to convert its CW production facility and destroy its stocks, and therefore had been somewhat surprised to hear reports that the Libyans were abandoning a previous plan to use U.S. companies for this project in favor of Italian firms. Terzi explained that the Libyans had approached Italy a few years ago with a similar request to use Italian financing for the conversion of its CW program, in exchange for improved cooperation on illegal immigration issues. (Note: the bulk of sea-borne clandestine immigration into Italy embarks from Libyan ports, but Libyan cooperation with Italian authorities has been sporadic and half-hearted.) After interagency consultations, the Italians had agreed to provide assistance,

and Italian companies were allowed to bid on two Libyan contracts, one focusing on destruction and the other on conversion of CW-related items. The Libyans subsequently put the project on hold for several months, citing the need to consult with the OPCW. A few months ago the Libyan government informed Rome of its desire to go forward with the plan, but the Italians subsequently learned that the OPCW was still examining the detailed plans. Terzi said that Italy had been surprised to learn that the Libyans had already secured financing from the U.S. for the same project.

Additional Meetings

¶11. (U) On September 13, A/S DeSutter, accompanied by Julie Connor and VCI/SI Director Jerry Taylor, met with Lt. Gen. Giuseppe Valotto, President of CASD (Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa -- Center for Higher Defense Studies), the MoD's premier training and research center with links to the National Defense University in Washington (of which A/S DeSutter is a graduate). Valotto expressed a strong interest in the post-START discussions and invited A/S DeSutter to deliver a lecture on strategic arms negotiations at CASD during a future visit. Later that day, A/S DeSutter met with foreign policy correspondents from leading Italian newspapers, who showed great interest in the post-START talks (Corriere della Sera, Italy's leading daily, ran a story about the talks the next day). A/S DeSutter also met with mission first- and second-tour Foreign Service Officers to discuss WMD-related issues and to exchange ideas on how to help make demarches in this area more effective.

¶12. (U) On September 14, A/S DeSutter met with 17 foreign policy and international security experts from a wide range of Italian think tanks and universities. Invitees asked a number of questions concerning strategic arms reduction, non-proliferation, chemical weapons, and CFE, demonstrating the high level of Italian academic interest in arms control negotiations.

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¶13. (C) A/S DeSutter participated as an observer September 15 in a meeting and luncheon organized by Annalisa Giannella, who serves as the Personal Representative for Nonproliferation of WMD for Javier Solana, the EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). The meeting served as a preparatory meeting for the proposed EU-hosted symposium, "Addressing Strategic Challenges Together," scheduled for November 13-14, 2007 in Brussels. Some representatives at the preparatory meeting (South Africa, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, Russia) urged an expansion of the conference participants to include other countries, such as Cuba, Iran, and North Korea, while EU representatives noted that the number of invited countries was already quite large (58, plus delegations representing international organizations like the IAEA) and that its purpose was not to have a worldwide conference but rather a smaller conference of countries interested in the issue. Concerning topics to be discussed, some countries pressed the need to discuss disarmament as well as non-proliferation, and the conference organizers clarified that discussion of disarmament can be accommodated in the proposed conference structure. The USG rep to the meeting, A/DAS Andrew Semmel, said the need was for a smaller, more focused conference rather than a conference that would just go over the same ground as previous conferences, and A/S DeSutter recommended that the conference focus on new initiatives rather than old disagreements. At the luncheon, A/DAS Semmel suggested that the joint statement on nuclear energy and nuclear energy security and cooperation in the July Bush-Putin Declaration on Nuclear Energy and Non-Proliferation would provide a good example of the kinds of common interests and shared benefits the proposed symposium is seeking to highlight. Giannella agreed to take all of these comments under consideration,

though she definitely ruled out the possibility of inviting Cuba to the conference due to an outstanding arrest warrant in Cuba against HR Solana.

¶14. (SBU) In separate courtesy calls with DCM Anna Borg and Ambassador Spogli on September 10 and 14, A/S DeSutter explained the objectives and constraints on the post-START discussions and thanked Embassy Rome for hosting the talks and Embassy staff for help and support. Speaking with the Ambassador, A/S DeSutter suggested that Rome would make a good venue for future talks if sufficient support can be arranged. Noting the high level of Italian government and press interest in the U.S.-Russian security dialogue, Ambassador Spogli and DCM Borg both thanked DeSutter for agreeing to meet with the Italian MFA and for taking advantage of public diplomacy opportunities while in Rome.

¶15. (U) A/S DeSutter and A/DAS Semmel have cleared this message.

¶16. (U) Minimize Considered.

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